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authorities and the local self-governing authorities have both the right and the duty to employ both alphabets in accordance with the wishes of the citizens.

(7) All recognized religions may be freely and publicly exercised. The Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Mussulman faiths, which are those chiefly professed by our nation, shall rank equally and enjoy equal rights with regard to the State.

In consideration of these principles the Legislature will take special care to safeguard religious concord in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our whole nation.

(8) The calendar shall be unified as soon as possible.

(9) The territory of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes will include all the territory inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the three names. It cannot be mutilated without detriment to the vital interests of the community.

Our nation demands nothing that belongs to others. It demands only what is its own. It desires to free itself and to achieve its unity. Therefore it consciously and firmly refuses every partial solution of the problem of its national liberation and unification. It puts forward the proposition of its deliverance from Austro-Hungarian domination and its union with Serbia and Montenegro in a single State forming an indivisible whole.

In accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, no part of this territorial totality may, without infringement of justice, be detached and incorporated with some other state without the consent of the nation itself.

(10) In the interests of freedom and of the equal rights of all nations, the Adriatic shall be free and open to each and all.

(11) All citizens throughout the whole territory of the Kingdom shall be equal and enjoy the same rights with regard to the State and before the law.

(12) The election of the deputies to the national representative body shall be by universal suffrage, with equal, direct and secret ballot. The same shall apply to the elections in the communes and other administrative units. Elections will take place in each commune.

(13) The Constitution, to be established after the conclusion of peace by a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage, with direct and secret ballot, will be the basis of the entire life of the State; it will be the source and consummation of all authority and of all rights by which the entire life of the nation will be regulated.

The Constitution will provide the nation with the possibility of exercising its special energies in local autonomies delimited by natural, social and economic conditions.

The Constitution must be passed in its entirety by a numerically defined majority in the Constituent Assembly.

The Constitution, like all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly, will come into force after having received the royal sanction.

The nation of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, thus unified, will form a State of about twelve million inhabitants. This State will be the guarantee for their independence and national development and their na-

tional and intellectual progress in general, a mighty bulwark against the German thrust, an inseparable ally of all the civilized nations and States which have proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and that of international justice. It will be a worthy member of the new Community of Nations.

Drawn up in Corfu, July 7/20, 1917.

The President of the Jugo-Slav Committee,

(Signed)

DR. ANTE TRUMBIC,
*Advocate, Deputy and Leader of the
Croatian National Party in the Dal-
matian Diet, late Mayor of Split
(Spalato), late Deputy for the Dis-
trict of Zadar (Zara) in the Aus-
trian Parliament.*

The Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia and Minister for Foreign Affairs,

(Signed)

NIKOLA P. PASIC.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND THE WAR.

A STATEMENT

By the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, adopted at its session of March 29, 1918.

THIS decisive hour of history summons our society to make its utmost contribution to humanity's deepest needs. Believing that this requires us to meet the moral and spiritual issues of the times simply and fearlessly, we feel called to make clear our Christian faith as applied to war.

Our society's opposition to all war as unchristian has been maintained throughout its history. In 1660 our forefathers declared:

"We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretense whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world. The Spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we certainly know, and testify to the world, that the Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world."

These convictions have been reaffirmed by Friends in all generations, and during the present war our yearly meetings throughout the world have given clear evidence that they are steadfast to the same principles.

The basis of our opposition to war is much more than any single command of the Old or New Testament. It is our faith that the way of love, by which our Master, Jesus Christ, met and conquered evil, remains for His followers today the true method of combating wrong. For us, as for Him, this involves refusal to use means which, like war, violate love and defeat its ends; but it does not mean a weak neutrality toward evil. For us, as for Him, it means a life of action devoted to the

heroic purpose of overcoming evil with good. The unspeakable sufferings of humanity are now calling us and all men to larger sacrifices and more earnest endeavors to put this faith into practice. To such endeavors we dedicate ourselves.

In accordance with this faith, we desire to maintain all our relationships today.

To our beloved country we affirm the deep loyalty of grateful hearts. We long to help her realize her noblest capacities as a great Republic dedicated to liberty and democracy. But we believe that we best serve our country and all humanity when we maintain that religion and conscience are superior even to the State.

To President Wilson we declare our appreciation of his steadfast and courageous efforts to keep the aims of the United States in this great conflict liberal, disinterested, and righteous.

To our fellow-countrymen, who are following the leadings of conscience into ways where we cannot be their comrades, we give assurance of respect and sympathy in all that they endure. Finally,

For all men, whether they be called our enemies or not, we pray that the sacrificial love of Christ, stirring us to repentance, may reconcile and unite all mankind in the brotherhood of His spirit.

SOME PARTICULAR ADVICES FOR FRIENDS

AND

A STATEMENT OF LOYALTY FOR OTHERS.

By one hundred and twenty Friends of Pennsylvania and elsewhere, whose names appear, and "a large body of opinion" represented by them.

There are certain fundamental principles of right and humanity which every man must feel called upon to defend, even to the extent of forcible resistance if long-continued intolerable conditions caused by morally defunct people are to be ended before the world is enslaved. For more than two centuries the Society of Friends has stood steadfastly and consistently for peace to the limit of toleration. It is in matters of individual conflict, however, rather than in national wrongs that these principles have proved effective. Many distinguished Friends in the past have realized that in cases of great collective oppression mere submission only renders the objects of the oppressor more easily attained.

It is well for us to profit by the experience and judgment of those of proved attainments and acknowledged usefulness in the community rather than by the views of those who have not these qualities. Thus we may well consider the experience and judgment of William Penn, James Logan, John Dickinson, Nathanael Greene, Israel Whelen, Thomas Mifflin, Jacob Brown, John Bright, John G. Whittier, and a number of Friends living today of similar distinction and experience in the facts of life.

Our foundation principle and the excuse for our separate corporate existence is a belief in the Divine Immanence or a direct communion with God. The object of our society therefore is to awaken every one to a consciousness of "that of God" within him which will "speak to his condition." Any particular testimony as to outward affairs must, then, be the statement merely of a particular person or group within the society, unless approved by it.

We believe that the majority of Friends are as earnestly opposed as any one to the enthrallment of the world by a military caste; to the human slavery and slaughter imposed upon Belgium, Poland, Armenia, and other countries; to the wholesale destruction of innocent, non-combatant women and children; to unparalleled atrocities and to the spread of organized barbarism. We think that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind makes it incumbent upon the Society of Friends to make such a statement. The principal thing which George Fox did was to break away bravely from the bondage of traditional dogma and point from the slavery of the formal church discipline to the Authority Within. Elias Hicks followed this principle in proclaiming that no book or dogma should be adhered to unless it met the Witness for Truth in the individual heart.

We do not agree with those who would utter sentimental platitudes while a mad dog is running amuck, biting women and children; with those who would stand idly by quoting some isolated passage of Scripture while an insane man murdered him, ravished his wife, bayoneted his babies, or crucified his friends; with any person who would discuss with some well and contented stranger the merits of various fire-extinguishers while his wife and children are calling to him from the flames of his burning house.

We believe that wrong is relative and has degrees; that there are greater things than human life and worse things than war. There is a difference between peace as an end and peace as a means to an end. We do not want peace with dishonor or a temporary peace with evil. We will not equivocate with honor or compromise with wickedness. We must not only seek to save ourselves from war, but posterity as well, and we must not mistake pictures or names of things for the things themselves. It takes two to make peace, but only one to make war.

Believing that it is not enough at this time to be neutral, and that the views of the Society of Friends have not been adequately represented by the official statements of its executives, nor by the utterances of many of its public speakers, we feel to follow the course of our brethren in England who both now and in their past history have realized that there are unusual and extraordinary circumstances of infrequent occurrence which cannot be rigidly or fully met by any man-made church discipline. We therefore deem it consistent with our Quaker faith to act according to the dictates of our own consciences and proclaim a unity with the teachings of Jesus Christ and the messages of the President of our country.

As to the former, we believe the Master to have been a religious teacher in *normal times*, whose words were addressed to individuals living in those times. We cannot think that He would have remained neutral against organized savagery. In the political affairs of a nation we are to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Jesus made known his attitude by the questions His hearers asked Him. We cannot think that if the long history of Germany's intrigue and barbarism was related to Him and the question asked, "Is it lawful for us to rise and resist the aggression of this mighty power by force of arms, or covet bondage for ourselves and our children?" that He would have answered, "Let the giant have his way; resist him not." Rather,

we believe, would He have said, "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword, and in such a cause whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life, the same shall save it." We remember His words in the 23rd chapter of Matthew and His armed forcible driving of the money-changers from the temple with the destruction of their property; His statement that He came not to send peace but a sword; His injunction to His disciples to sell their garments and buy swords; His prophecy that wars "must needs be," and many other sayings that were not the language of slavish submission to aggression and evil, but of manly resistance. His teaching that we love our enemies can, we think, be made to mean complete non-resistance to national aggression and evil only by tearing them out from the rest of the New Testament and their setting in Oriental thought and life as well as by ignoring the conduct of the Master Himself.

It is perhaps reasonable to believe that God works through human instruments, and that He wishes us to be "His Hands" for reward and punishment. This course, has, we believe, been patiently and forcibly stated to us by the President of the United States, who has shown us that the "right is more precious than peace." We proclaim our loyalty to the cause of civilization, and to the President of the United States, and our willingness to help in all ways that may be opened to us by the Inward Light, which is the foundation of our faith.

Morris L. Clothier.
Wm. C. Sproul.
J. Willis Martin.
Dr. Edward Martin.
Charles E. Mather.
George K. Johnson.
Howard Cooper Johnson.
Joseph Wharton Lippincott.
Robert M. Janney.
William Byron Forbush.
George L. Mitchell.
Benjamin Walton.
Lawrence P. Sharples.
Caleb S. Miller.
Edwin J. Durnall.
Allan Farquhar.
Harold B. Stabler.
J. Gibson McIlvain.
James A. Bunting.
Robert Biddle.
George J. Watson.
James Buckman.
James Dixon.
J. Russell Smith.
Dr. Edward Palmer.
Edgar J. Taylor.
A. H. Tomlinson.
E. Clayton Walton.
Howard W. Lippincott.
John A. Miller.
Philip M. Sharples.
J. Chandler Barnard.
Philip T. Sharples.
John Russell Hayes.
Hugh McIlvain.
William J. Serrill.
George B. Miller.
Isaac Roberts.
David L. Lukens.
Rowland Comly.
Wilmer Atkinson.
Henry Gawthrop.

Nathan B. Gaskill.
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F. Warren Marshall.
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George B. Farquhar.
Asa M. Stabler.
Norman Mellor.
Maris M. Hollingsworth.

Swithin Shortlidge.
E. Wharton Shortlidge.
H. Lewellyn Chandler.
B. Frank Mercer.
J. Walter Jefferis.
Henry W. Marshall.
Henry W. Marshall.
J. Howard Thompson.
W. Penn Hoopes.
Thomas W. Sidwell.
Isaac H. Clothier.
Thomas M. Bartlett.
George L. Bartlett.
Charles Evans.
Joseph W. Swain.
Albert Stabler.
Elliott Richardson.
Emmor Roberts.

Horace Mather Lippincott.
Marshall P. Sullivan.
Harvey Ellis.
William J. Cooper.
Isaac G. Darlington.
Edward C. Wilson.
J. Kemp Bartlett.
Joseph J. Jamey.
William E. Walton.
Robert F. Roberts.
Thomas N. Taylor.
Henry D. Sharples.
James P. Stabler.
William C. Rowland.
Guion Miller.
George M. Bunting.
J. Horace Walter.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE PERPETUAL STATEMENT OF TERMS APPLIED TO AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE LEAGUE

By JULIA GRACE WALES

THE method of war in the past has been to conquer first and make terms afterwards. But in any war, in so far as a people are contending for international principles of justice and freedom, an early, specific, and public statement of terms should be a substantial aid to their cause. As has already been recognized in the present war, a standing offer of a peace based on sound international principles adds moral forces to physical, and tends to insure moral victory at the earliest possible moment. Moreover, such a standing challenge keeps the enemy government in a public and unescapable dilemma between right and wrong, and throws on it the perpetual onus of the continuation of the war.

Moreover, the peoples have a right to know what the terms of a settlement are to be; they have a right to know these terms before they stop fighting. The safety of the peoples lies, not in negotiations in the old secret, diplomatic sense, but in the perpetual public statement of terms without armistice until the essentials of a lasting settlement have been secured. "Protective publicity" is the one safeguard against the machinations of a selfish autocratic government.

Now, could the principle of continuous mediation through public proposals be used by a league of nations for the preservation of world peace and be made a permanent part of world security against war?

The league at present under consideration of course hopes ultimately to include in its membership all the nations of the earth; if not all are ready to come in, however, the league intends to be not a closed alliance of the old kind, such as could be mistaken for an aggressive alliance, but an alliance perpetually open to any nation that cares to come in on condition of undertaking reasonable responsibilities. That attitude in itself is based on the principle of the public challenge to the good faith of governments.

But, further, suppose that, despite all preventive measures, a war breaks out between two nations not members of the league, how could the principle of the perpetual statement of terms be applied by the league